Excerpts from Address by RICHARD M. NIXON Cincinnati, Ohio - February 12, 1964

In this election year Republicans will be urged by some to out-promise the Johnson Administration on civil rights in the hope of political gain. I am completely opposed to this kind of political demagoguery. Making promises that can't be kept - raising hopes that can't be realized - are the cruelest hoaxes that can be perpetrated on a minority group that has suffered from such tactics for a hundred years.

I think that the Republican Party should stand forthrightly on these principles:

- (1) We are proud of our record from the time of Abraham Lincoln to the passage of the first civil rights legislation in a hundred years under President Eisenhower.
- (2) We shall continue to lead the fight for equality under the law for all Americans, including not only our Negro citizens but other minorities who because their numbers are less are sometimes overlooked -- the Puerto Ricans, the Eastern and Southern Europeans, the Central and South Americans, the Mexicans, and our American Indians.
- (3) But we are a Party that was founded on the principle of the rule of law. Abraham Lincoln led the nation to war to maintain the rule of law in our land.
- (4) The encouragement of disrespect for law through mass demonstrations, boycotts, and violation of property rights, in the long-run, harms rather than helps the cause of civil rights. Some justify such tactics on the ground that they may hasten the passage of laws. But, at the same time, these tactics destroy the will of the people to obey those laws.
- (5) We disapprove of the spectacle of public officials lending the prestige of their office to extra-legal pressures on the part of any minority or majority group. This encouragement of disregard for law and for the rights of other people and other minorities will plague the cause of better understanding among the American people for years to come. It negates or makes suspect the right of petition, the right of peaceful assembly, and the orderly process of law.
- (6) We stand for the rule of law and reject mob rule.
- (7) The only rights worth having are the rights created in the law, by lawful means; and which exist for all Americans equally and equitably.
- (8) We reject the idea that the way to reduce high Negro unemployment is to increase white unemployment. We stand for a program that will increase job opportunities for all Americans.
- (9) We oppose segregation in our schools either by law or in fact. But this problem must be dealt with in an orderly transition. We believe it is detrimental to both Negro and white children to uproot them from their communities and to haul them from one school to another in order to force integration in an artifical and unworkable manner.
- (10) Now that a new civil rights law will soon become a reality, we need a national program which will increase understanding among our people, the will to obey that law and other laws, and which will reduce the hate fomented by professional extremists and political demagogues.

A law is only as good as the will of people to keep it. The hate engendered by demonstrations and boycotts have set Americans against Americans and have created an atomsphere of hate and distrust which, if it continues to grow, will make the new law a law in name only.

It is time for responsible civil rights leaders to take over from the extremists.